

Ms. Williams is the mother of 5 children and has 12 grandchildren and 9 great-grandchildren.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in recognizing Ms. Lucille Williams for her outstanding achievements and enduring commitment to our Bronx community.

UNDERMINING THE UNITED STATES EMBARGO OF CUBA

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1997

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues' attention the attached article by Ernest Preeg, which was published in the *Journal of Commerce* several days ago. The article points out that, according to a new United Nations Study, United States citizens sent relatives and friends in Cuba approximately \$800 million in cash during 1996—a sum nearly twice as large as Cuba's net export earnings from its annual sugar harvest. Under current regulations, American citizens may legally send cash to Cuba only after first obtaining a very specific license from the Treasury Department. Rarely, if ever, has any American applied for such a license. The fact that so many private American citizens are moved by kinship or generosity to provide cash assistance to economically disadvantaged Cubans, in violation of the United States embargo and United States law, suggests that many Americans with ties to Cuba themselves reject one of the embargo's fundamental rationales: that it is both appropriate and necessary to apply economic pressure to promote political change in Cuba. This suggests that it is time to pursue a new United States policy toward Cuba, a policy in which both private United States citizens and the United States Government are able legally and openly to aid the Cuban people.

[From the *Journal of Commerce*]

HAVANA AND HELMS-BURTON

(By Ernest H. Preeg)

The U.S. embargo against Cuba, extended to third-country Cuban investors through the 1996 Helms-Burton Act, enjoys strong support among most Cuban-Americans, the three Cuban-American members of Congress and the well-organized Cuban American National Foundation.

However, Cuban-American attitudes are in deep conflict. While most strongly support the embargo, including Helms-Burton, increasingly large remittance flows are sent to Cuban friends and relatives, effectively undermining economic restrictions.

The extent of this contradiction—and its impact on U.S. Cuba policy—is underscored by a startling U.N. Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean report. Eclac found sharply rising remittances to Cuba in 1995 and 1996, even as Congress enacted Helms-Burton, more than reversed the law's limited success at discouraging third-country investors.

Virtually all Cuban-Americans, and many others, oppose the Castro communist regime and want democracy quickly restored in Havana. Yet Cuban-Americans also understand that economic sanctions' poor track record forcing political change on authoritarian governments—some even step up repression in response—and the tool's disproportionate impact on the poor.

The dilemma did not exist before 1990 because huge Soviet subsidies—\$6 billion annually in the late 1980s—ensured decent Cuban living conditions despite the U.S. embargo. After Russia's abrupt 1990 aid cutoff, however, Cuban shortages of food, medicine and other goods mounted, worsened by Helms-Burton.

Cuban-Americans responded by stepping up remittances, helped greatly in 1993 when Havana embraced U.S. dollar usage and opened dollar-only stores. The forthcoming Eclac report suggests remittances grew to approximately \$800 million in 1996 from under \$100 million in 1990, despite strict U.S. Treasury limits—before counting direct shipments of clothing and consumer goods.

The role these remittances play in undermining the U.S. embargo is best seen in a comparison with other dollar sources. Cuba's 1996 tourist receipts were \$1.4 billion, sugar exports \$1 billion, other exports under \$1 billion and much-touted foreign investment inflows about \$100 million to \$200 million. Exact investment figures are secret.

But the comparative figures are gross dollar receipts, which don't reflect high offsetting imports. Cuban hotels buy most food and other goods abroad, for instance, while the sugar industry imports fertilizer, oil, machinery and parts to service refineries. Tourism's net inflow, accordingly, is as low as 30% of the gross—an estimated \$400 million in 1996—while sugar's is about 50%, or \$500 million. With remittances, in contrast, virtually all \$800 million remains in Cuba.

In 1996, therefore, the \$800 million remittances nearly equaled the net contribution from sugar exports and tourism combined. Applying the same calculations more broadly, about one-third of Cuba's entire net dollar inflow is from remittances.

The money is sent, of course, to help individual Cuban relatives and friends. Yet in aggregate, it offsets the embargo's financial squeeze and helps Havana keep the economy afloat despite failed central planning policies. While the remittances go directly to Cuban people, their help paying for food and other basic needs leaves the government with \$800 million more to spend on other priorities.

This fundamental difference between what Cuban-Americans say and do regarding the U.S. embargo deserves broader discussion, given the new Eclac figures. Helms-Burton's extra-territorial provisions create tension between Washington and its trading partners, particularly within the World Trade Organization. If Cuban-Americans press for strict adherence to the act's terms while undermining it through large and apparently illegal remittances, the embargo policy is deeply flawed.

A review is particularly timely given the pope's planned Cuba visit next January. The Catholic Church has consistently opposed economic sanctions throughout the world, given their undue impact on the poor. Pope John Paul may be anti-communist, but he is opposed to the U.S. embargo. The church's strategy for social and political change in Cuba, as elsewhere, is longer term.

During his visit, the pope hopes to obtain enhanced "working space" for the church, particularly a church radio station in Cuba—although Castro is unlikely to agree to that request. In the words of one Catholic priest: "When Fidel is gone, and the revolution is gone, the church will still be."

The Catholic Church has long dedicated itself to helping the poor and disadvantaged. It has opposed the U.S. embargo and extended food and medical shipments to Cubans through Caritas its humanitarian agency. Several million dollars in Cuban Caritas aid, however, pales beside the \$800 million in Cuban-American remittances. In this re-

spect, Cuban-Americans are more Catholic than the Pope.

IN SUPPORT OF HONDURAN APPAREL INITIATIVES

HON. EARL F. HILLIARD

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1997

Mr. HILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to your attention a recently published article by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs [COHA]. The article is entitled: "Scandal-Ridden Honduran Apparel Industry Seeks New Image." It appeared in COHA's biweekly edition of *Washington Report on the Hemisphere* on August 15, 1997.

The article brings to light the efforts of the Honduras Apparel Manufacturers Association to establish an industry-wide code of conduct as a constructive, proactive mechanism to prevent future labor relations problems. The aforementioned association is a nonprofit and nonpolitical organization from the private sector, created to promote and develop exports of apparel goods, and to serve its associates and represent them before public and private institutions, both nationally and internationally. Membership is mandatory under Honduran law for all exporting companies. This new code was approved by the association's board of directors in late July, at an industry-wide meeting.

Mr. Speaker, you will recall that the COHA is a locally based think-tank policy institution. It is well established for its views on developments in Latin America. COHA monitors human rights, trade, growth of democratic institutions, freedom of the press, and hemispheric economic and political developments. I would like to place in the *RECORD* the full text of this article.

SCANDAL-RIDDEN HONDURAN APPAREL INDUSTRY SEEKS NEW IMAGE—EMBITTERED INDUSTRY MANUFACTURES ITS OWN CODE OF CONDUCT

As major media revelations on child labor and sweatshop abuses in Honduras surfaced, deeply embarrassed local business interests, foreign firms operating in the country, and government authorities became increasingly concerned about the bad PR as much as conditions under which garments were being made there. At the end of July, the embattled Honduran Apparel Manufacturers Association (AHM) organized its first congress in San Pedro Sula in order to design a binding code of conduct for their industry. The AHM is a non-profit, non-political private sector organization established in 1991 to promote Honduras' exports of apparel goods and to serve as a foreign and domestic voice for the booming garments assembly industry. The sector consists of 180 plants, employing 87,000 workers. But its impact is far greater than it appears because in a country of approximately 5 million people, the industry accounts not only for its own workers and their almost 400,000 dependents, but for nearly 600,000 other Honduran laborers and their families in such related industries as shipping and packaging.

By drafting its own self-enforcing code of conduct, "the AHM hopes to preempt any outside intervention that could lead to regulations mandated from above." This meeting of the Honduran maquiladores was focused on addressing international humanitarian concerns such as harsh work site conditions and

widespread labor abuses raised when the Kathy Lee Gifford scandal broke last year.

WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE FACTORY

In June 1996, Charles Kernaghan, the executive director of the National Labor Committee, submitted a complaint to the House International Operations and Human Rights Subcommittee accusing Honduran apparel manufacturers and Kathy Lee Gifford associate, Global Fashion (a South Korean-managed firm), of labor abuses. The foreign company was accused of employing approximately 100 minors under deplorable work conditions, which included prohibiting the use of restrooms, mandating that female employees take birth control pills, and forcing pregnant women to stand while working in unbearable heat. But, inspections of the company's facilities conducted by the Honduran Department of Labor and Social Security as well as the Episcopal Church, among others, failed to establish hard evidence of endemic abuse. However, the company did acknowledge that overtime work was compulsory and that there was a high employee turnover rate. In fact, Global Fashion may have been better than most of the tainted industry.

The government insists that its labor laws have been designed to protect its citizens. Under the most recent labor legislation, employees working 44 hours per week are entitled to 50 hours worth of wages, which adds up to 14 months of pay per year. While the official minimum wage in the country is \$0.31/hr., most apparel industry laborers earn as much as \$0.86/hr. Education is mandatory through grade six, and minors who are 14 or 15 years of age may work up to 36 hours per week, but only with permission from parents or legal guardians and from the Ministry of Labor. The AHM claims that "there are no minors under the age of 14 working in Honduran assembly plants." Skeptics are not so sure.

OBSTACLES TO THE CODE

Although the AHM's code of conduct now appears to be based on a real desire for progressive reforms, there are many cultural and political roadblocks to its progress. The Korean-owned segment of the industry creates a large culture gap that has resulted in many worker complaints. Approximately 18 percent of AHM's members are South Koreans who own about one-fifth of the 200 maquiladoras operating in the country. Complaints that Korean managers frequently commit verbal, physical and sexual abuse against female workers have led us to a expulsion of several Korean managers from the country. Due to the hard-line Korean business ethic that stresses "the more you work the more you earn" strategy, the AHM has had to provide Korean maquila managers with special seminars on Honduran labor laws and appropriate workplace conduct.

Another obstacle hindering the efficacy of the new code of conduct is the omnipresent political corruption existing in the country. The recent scandal involving Chiquita Brand International executives and the deeply flawed Honduran court system demonstrates how the integrity of the judiciary can be compromised and manipulated by powerful and unethical foreign corporations. Complicating the AHM's task is the claim that some of the 33 plants that are unionized have tainted labor leaders who routinely demand payoffs. According to Arnoldo Solis, President of the AHM, "the new code of ethics will be a healthy instrument if used properly to enhance protection of human and labor rights, but could become dangerous if used as a political instrument to 'deteriorate' the industry."

DESIGNATE THE RICHARD C. LEE COURTHOUSE

HON. ROSA L. DeLAURO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1997

Ms. DeLAURO. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill to designate the U.S. courthouse in my hometown of New Haven, CT, as the "Richard C. Lee United States Courthouse." I am pleased to take this opportunity to speak of the dedication and service that my friend and colleague, Richard Lee, has given the city of New Haven throughout his life. Richard Lee epitomizes all that a mayor should be. He is a local boy, a family man, a dedicated and hard working person, and most of all a friend to everyone. He is truly a model mayor for this century.

After serving his tour of military duty, Dick Lee returned to New Haven to begin a lifetime of service to his beloved city. During four terms as an alderman, Dick Lee was committed to urban redesign at a time when most cities had not yet considered such ideas. When Lee first ran for mayor in 1949 he had the foresight to recognize the need for urban renewal. He was elected mayor in 1953 and then went on to serve eight terms.

Those of us from New Haven know Richard Lee for his profound influence on the city, but he is well known for his signal impact on national urban policy. Lee fought for and won Federal funding for important city renewal projects. Under Lee's aegis New Haven came to have three times more Federal funds per capita than any other city. Both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson courted Lee's insight and innovation on urban renewal. Lee's forward thinking ideas on city planning were the first version of the War on Poverty.

When the signs of an urban upheaval were noted by President Johnson, Richard Lee's connection to the heartbeat of cities was well acknowledged. The new Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development was created and Lee was offered a prestigious Federal post—which he declined because he wanted to continue his service to the city of New Haven.

Anticipating the coming storm embodied in the civil rights movement, Lee applied for and received \$2.5 million from the Ford Foundation to combat urban unemployment and poverty. In addition, he received the first Federal grant to battle juvenile delinquency. When the urban tensions of the civil rights movement came to a head with rioting across the Nation, New Haven was spared the violence which shook other American cities. In New Haven, not one shot was fired by a policeman and not a single citizen was seriously harmed.

Under Lee's direction, the city of New Haven became one enormous renewal effort. Every neighborhood and school was involved in Dick Lee's programs and projects, and citizens of New Haven are still reaping the benefits today. The restoration of Wooster Square and the engineering buildup of Long Wharf are both credited to Dick Lee. The Knights of Columbus building and the Veterans coliseum were also projects of Lee's doing.

While Dick Lee is known for his many achievements, projects, and programs, he is also known by the people of New Haven for his commitment to the average citizen, his

community involvement, and his accessibility. For Dick there was no higher service than the office of mayor of New Haven. Time and again he rejected offers of higher government positions. He felt the best way to serve the city and the people was in the mayor's office.

In 1980 Richard Lee was presented with the Distinguished Service Award for his advocacy on behalf of America's cities by the U.S. Conference of Mayors. The country is thankful to this man who has brought so much to America's cities. Most importantly, the people of New Haven are blessed with the presence of this hometown boy who came to the position of mayor and changed the face of the city.

As a citizen of New Haven, I am grateful that I have had the opportunity to know and learn from this remarkable man. The Richard C. Lee U.S. Courthouse will be a lasting tribute to a man who was truly one of the most dedicated and effective mayors of this century.

PRIEST IS KILLED IN INDIA

HON. PETER T. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1997

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to bring to the attention of the House that this past Tuesday a Catholic priest was found beheaded in Bihar, India, apparently for simply helping Untouchables. I not only deplore this tragedy but urge the Government of India to rectify this situation and end the persecution of religious minorities.

I submit for the RECORD two news articles describing this horrible crime and the persecution of Christians by Indian police.

[The New York Times, Thursday, Oct. 30, 1997]

3D PRIEST IS KILLED IN INDIA

NEW DELHI, Oct. 29 (AP)—A Catholic priest was found beheaded in a forest in northern India, apparently killed for helping untouchables, colleagues said today.

A search party from the Australian-run mission that employed the priest, the Rev. A.T. Thomas, found his body Monday near Sirka, Bihar, three days after he was abducted.

He was the third Catholic clergyman killed in two years in Bihar, where caste-based gang wars have killed hundreds of people.

Father Thomas, an Indian, had established 15 schools and health projects for untouchables.

[The Tribune, Oct. 27, 1997]

DSP HURT IN BRICKBATTING

Ludhiana, October 26.—The police opened fire in the air and resorted to a lathi charge to disperse an agitated mob of Christians last night and as many as 19 policemen, including a DSP and nine Christians were injured in the brickbattling and lathi charge. Two vehicles were also damaged. The Christians had started a five-day programme on "Jesus Christ is the answer" festival from October 22 to October 26 on the Chandigarh Road. They claimed that they were holding their prayers and thousands of Christians were participating in the same. On the other hand BJP activists of the Shiv Sena and the Bajrang Dal objected to the holding of the festival alleging that the Christians were resorting to conversions and indulging in "magical healing." The administration on the first day withdrew permission to hold the festival but on the assurance that no